APPENDIX V.

(1) The Story of the Conquest of Bednūr.

Basappa Nāyaka II of Ikkēri or Keḷadi died in 1754 and of what followed, we have several versions. Among these are the following with their probable dates: *Haidar-Nāmāh* (1784); De La Tour (1784); Robson (1786); Kīrmāṇi (1800); *Keḷadi-Nripa-Vijayam* (1800-1804); and Wilks (1810). These different versions are briefly set down below.

The story as told in the "Haidar-Nāmāh": The earliest contemporary version is to be found in the *Haidar-Nāmāh*. This work introduces us to the episode immediately after the conquest of Chitaldrug. During Haidar's stay in Chitaldrug, we are told, he made known to the Pāḷegār, Medekere Nāyaka, the following: "Before we set out on this expedition against you, we wrote to the state of Bednūr, seeking their assistance in accordance with the terms of their agreement with Mysore (*karāru*). Great irregularity having prevailed in Bednūr, our *harkārs* demanded a reply from Dewān Nanjaiya and Nirvāṇaiya. The latter directed a negative reply being given, while the scribe insisted on some lame excuse being pleaded. Thereupon Daḷēdār Bhadrana-Timma of the Gollar community said that it was ill-becoming on their part to write like that to a person like Haidar, who, having lately superseded the king of Mysore, had succeeded to the headship of that State itself (*samsthānādhipati*). At this the scribe became exasperated and bawled out: "'If Gollars become councillors or advisers on matters of State, why should we be here?' Taking him at his word, the authorities of Bednūr have accordingly sent me an ill-mannered reply

(*kīḷu vakkaṇe*). Moreover a woman is administering that State now, and much looseness prevails there. What do you say now?" Whereupon Medekere Nāyaka represented as follows: "The last king of Bednūr adopted a person by name Channabasappa Nāyaka and installed him on the throne. On the old king's death, his queen Vīrammāji (*Rāṇi Vīrammāji*), having contracted an intimacy with one Nimbaiya, bestowed on him the office of *Sarvādhikāri* or Chief Minister. Disgusted with this state of affairs, Channabasappa Nāyaka manouvred to get Nimbaiya's connection with the Bednūr palace severed. Not tolerating this, Vīrammāji, one day, during the act of shampooing through a professional athlete (*jeṭṭiya kaiyinda yeṇṇe vattuvāga*), had Channabasappa treacherously strangled by the neck and buried in a pit (*kritrimadinda Channabasappa Nāyakana koraḷu hisukisi guṇiyalli hāki*). Then Vīrammāji had another boy adopted. Since then she has been as usual conducting the administration in close association with Nimbaiya. Krishṇappa Nāyaka of Kallakere has been one of the administrative officers there (*kārubāri*). The old officers of State (*haḷabas*) have fallen to the background; even Daḷavāi Vīrabhadra Nāyaka has been removed from power. There is no strength or vigour in the army. As regards Channabasappa Nāyaka, further, it was found, his life had not completely gone out (*pūrā prāṇa hōgiralilla*) when he was buried. He rebreathed and rose up from the pit (*usurutirugi guṇiyinda eddu bandu*). Since then he has been living with me in Chitaldrug. The kingship of Bednūr must be secured for him." Haidar said in reply that he would do so. Accordingly he sent for the Pretender, that false Rāja who had been resurrected (*ā suḷḷu mātina Gaibu rāja nembavana karasi bhēṭi tegedu koṇḍu*), and, accompanied by him and Medekere Nāyaka, proceeded on an expedition to Nagar (*Haid-Nām.*, ff. 26-27).

It will be seen here that the son adopted by Basappa Nāyaka II is suggested to have tried to get rid of Nimbaiya; that Vīrammāji therefore tried to get rid of him; and that he escaped with his life from the grave, having yet a little life in him, and that he had been in the custody of the Pāḷegār of Chitaldrug, who espoused his cause with Haidar, who agreed to do so and started on his expedition. There is, however, no reference in this version to either the second adopted son or to the murder being an accomplished fact, though the author of the *Haidar-Nāmāh* does not evince any belief in the story of the rising from the grave and suggests that the man introduced by the Pāḷegār was only a pretender —that false Rāja who was brought into existence for the purpose of the insurrection.

De La Tour's Version: According to De La Tour, "the son of the Queen of Canara had escaped from Rana Bidnoor (*i.e.*, Bednūr), capital of that kingdom, and came to the Suba (*i.e.*, Haidar) at Bisnagar (*i.e.*, Basavāpaṭṇa)[1], to implore his assistance, that his mother might be compelled to put him in possession of the kingdom of his ancestors—the regency of which she had held since the death of her husband, the late king, and father of young prince, and still retained it, though her son had arrived at the age prescribed by law for him to take charge of the government himself." De La Tour adds that "the young prince" was "favorably received, and his mother was cited, by an ambassador of Haidar, to appear before the *Suba* (*i.e.*, himself) at a time fixed. This woman, who possessed a degree of courage unusual

1. Basavāpaṭṇa described by De La Tour as the "kingdom of Bisnagar or Bassapatam." See as to this identification, p. 427, f.n. 101 *supra*. Basavāpaṭṇa is now a ruined village in the N. W. of Channagiri. Originally the seat of the Basavāpaṭṇa chiefs, afterwards known as the Tarīkere Pāḷegārs, it was taken by the Bednūr chief about the middle of the 17th century. The Mahrattas then got possession and Haidar wrested it from them in or about 1762.

in her sex, and who, from the anarchy that had long reigned in the Mogol's empire, was habituated to despise the orders of the emperor and his officers, replied to the ambassador of Haidar, that she was queen, and knew no superior. On this answer, which Hyder expected, war was determined on against the queen." (De La Tour, *o.c.*, I. 81-82). It is clear from this version that Channabasava, the son adopted by Basappa Nāyaka II, chafed under the restraints put upon him by Rāṇi Vīrammāji despite his approaching the age at which he could succeed to the throne, and escaped from her control and sought Haidar's aid at Basavāpaṭṇa, and Haidar, in his capacity of Nawāb of Sīra, called Vīrammāji to explain her conduct. She refused and war followed. It will be seen that De La Tour mentions only Channabasappa, the first adopted son, and makes no reference either to the second adopted son or the pretender.

Robson's Narrative: According to Robson, it would seem that Basappa Nāyaka II had, at his death, nominated his (adopted) son Channabasappa, aged then about nine years, to succeed him on the throne.[2] He was duly installed and his name made use of in all matters relative to the State. This continued for nearly a year, when, it is stated, the Queen (Vīrammāji) formed a design against the young Rāja's life, in favour of her brother.[3] But a "friend" of the late Rāja, Basappa

2. Robson, *Life of Hyder Ally*, 28-32. Robson gives the name of the son as "Chinavas Appiah," which is a corrupted form of "Chinnabasappa." He had evidently been adopted *before* he was "appointed," as Robson says, to "succeed him in the government." Robson was, it is clear, not aware of his adoption.

3. The name of the "brother" referred to is not mentioned by Robson. That he was identical with Vīrammāji's maternal uncle's son—Sōmaśēkhara III—there can be no doubt, for he was a cousin of the Rāṇi and young enough—being but an infant to be treated as her son and taken in adoption. He was, according to other sources, th youngest son of her maternal uncle Channabasappa.

Nāyaka II, however, stood in the way.[4] He evidently made overtures to the neighbouring Pāḷegār of Chitaldrug and contrived to patch up an arrangement with him for securing the life of Channabasappa. Robson says that this "friend of the Rajah" found means "to remove him from court, (*i.e.*, Rāṇi Vīrammāji's court) and sent him secretly to the care" of the Pāḷegār of Chitaldrug. Here he remained in safety for eight years,[5] to the time of Haidar's conquest of Chitaldrug. "It was here," says Robson, "Hyder received the first impression of recovering the Biddenoor country; the reinstating the young Rajah being the most favourable circumstance, and the most conducive to his secret design. A plan was now formed between the young Rajah, Hyder, and the Polligar Chief, to re-establish the Rajah in his country, for which service it was stipulated that Hyder should receive, besides a valuable present, forty lakhs of rupees for the expence of the undertaking, and he swore, without reserve, to the faithful performance of the treaty."

According to Robson, the first adopted son was saved by a friend of Basappa Nāyaka II and was despatched to the Paḷegār of Chitaldrug, who negotiated a treaty with Haidar for his restoration on certain terms. This version suggests that the adoptee was saved *before* any attempt on his life was actually made on him by Vīrammāji's

4. Robson styles him "*the* friend of the Rajah" but he mentions no name. He must have been interested in Channabasappa, the adoptee. Otherwise, he would not have taken the extreme step he took of opening up negotiations with the Pāḷegār of Chitaldrug, the hereditary enemy of Bednūr. Was he Liṅgappa of Mūḍbidare, who was imprisoned by the Rāṇi Vīrammāji at Kumsi and later escaped from imprisonment and helped Haidar?

5. Channabasappa's age at the time of Haidar's invasion was, according to Wilks, 17. Robson agrees with him, for if he was 9 years old, as he says, at the time of his succession, and if within "near a year" he was sent away from Bednūr to Chitaldrug, and he was there eight years in hiding, he would have been just nearing 18 at the time his cause was taken up by Haidar.

agents. The story of the *jeṭṭi* seems thus entirely discounted.

Kīrmāṇī's Version: Kīrmāṇi suggests neither two adoptions nor the rise of a pretender (Kīrmāṇi, *o.c.*, 128-132). According to him (*Ibid*), Vīrammāji had "lately formed an illicit connection with a slave"—he means a mean subordinate—and the country, with all its fertility and riches, like the eyes of the blind, had become totally deprived of light, while the hearts of the people, by the tyranny and oppression of the dissolute Rāṇi, was sorely afflicted; that the sounds of complaint and grief were heard in every street and market; that, on all sides, thieves and robbers laid hold on the property of the poor; that the men were ashamed of obeying their ruler, and had shut themselves up in their houses, and the women, licentious, fearless, and drunk with the wine of immodesty, ornamenting their hair, and (painting) their faces, gave themselves up to sensuality, and the men had no power to correct or reprove, even the women of their own families; and that, they gave themselves up to dalliance in the open streets and markets, and walked about in eager expectation of their lovers. Truly, if rulers noted for want of sense be appointed to govern and protect a country, what hopes of comfort or safety can be entertained by their subjects? It appeared, therefore, improper that the government of such a fine province should be held by such a person, and that a bad woman should govern so beautiful and fertile a country was unreasonable; besides this, she had rebelled against (Sira) government." Thus reported, according to Kīrmāṇi, the news-writers of Haidar to him about the state of affairs at Bednūr (*Ibid*, 126). The Rāṇi, according to him, had set such a bad example that everyone in her country—man and woman—had gone wrong and that the Rāṇi had so far gone as to be unfit to rule so beautiful a country. And then—according to

Kīrmāṇi—the news-writers intimated that "there was a man (it was said), a descendant of the chiefs of that country (*i.e.*, Bednūr); but he was void of sense and intelligence—for, notwithstanding he had laboured hard and schemed much, in the hope to obtain the chief authority, he could effect nothing" (*Ibid*, 129). This reference to the "descendant of the chiefs of that country" seems a reference to Channabasappa Nāyaka, the adopted son of Basappa Nāyaka II, who evidently, according to this version, had not only laboured and schemed but also had failed in all his attempts to get back his rights established. Later, it is stated by Kīrmāṇi (*Ibid*, 130) that Haidar, having learnt all this about Bednūr from the news-writers, sent "searching spies and able intelligencers" to "collect correct information" respecting the government of Bednūr, and that from the "full and distinct account" he received from them, he saw action was necessary. And then, when Haidar reached Chitaldrug, matters were evidently so arranged—through the agency of these very spies and intelligencers—that the "descendant of the chiefs of that country" came into touch with him. "About this time also," Kīrmāṇi writes, "the person who was ambitious of obtaining the government of Bednore, and who, as has been already stated, desired an opportunity to establish his claim, had sought refuge in Chitaldroog, and, under the auspicious star of his goood fortune, was introduced to the Nawaub (Haidar Alī). This person promised and engaged, through the medium of the Chief of Chitaldroog, to gird his loins in the service of the Nawaub; and stated that he considered the service of that victorious Chief as an honor to his house; and that he entreated the Nawaub to proceed quickly to the punishment of the Rāṇi, whose government was a display of caprice, and who, like a man, galloped over the field of license, and extinguish the torch of her immodesty with the water of the sword, and

give to the world (the people of which had their lives on their lips from her oppression and tyranny) comfort, consolation, a new life. Seeing that the appearance of things was conformable to his hopes and wishes, the Nawaub Bahadūr agreed to the prayer of this man..... marched towards Nuggur (*i.e.*, Bednūr)" (*Ibid*, 131). The person referred to here by Kīrmāṇi should be identified with the person mentioned by him earlier, whom we have identified already with Channabasappa, the son adopted by Basappa Nāyaka II. This would suggest that he was alive at the time of Haidar's invasion and that it was he who repaired to Haidar and sought his aid against Vīrammāji, his adopted mother. The reasons advanced by him against his adopted mother were first of all that she had formed an illicit liason and had set a bad example to her subjects who had gone wrong in their morals on account of her, and that her government was "a display of caprice" and oppressive and tyrannous. There is no mention by Kīrmāṇi of either the second adoptee or the pretender who personated so cunningly the first adoptee and was in turn deceived by Haidar. The "man" mentioned by Kīrmāṇi is identified by De La Tour also with the first adopted son of Basappa Nāyaka II.[6] That De La Tour makes mention of only the son adopted by Basappa Nāyaka II will be clear from the context in which his name appears in his *History* (De La Tour, *o.c.*, I. 81).

The story as told in the "Keḷadi-Nṛipa-Vijayam": According to this work, it is clear that Channabasava died on July 8, 1757, how it is not stated. Within 17 days of his death, Vīrammāji took in adoption Śōmaśēkhara III,[7] and put him on the throne. He was

6. This identification by De La Tour was first noted by Col. Miles in his translation of Kīrmāṇi, see Kīrmāṇi, *o.c.*, 131, f.n. *q*.

7. According to this work, Channabasappa died on July 18, 1757 (*Īśvara, Śrāvaṇa śu.* 2). His rule lasted for 8 years, from 1754 to 1757. Sōma śēkhara III was put on the throne on August 14,1757 (*Īśvara, Śrāvaṇa ba.* 5). See *Ke. N. V.* 217-218.

evidently an infant and this facilitated the continuance of her own rule, at least until her nominee came of age. As mentioned in the text of this work, he was the youngest son of her maternal uncle Channa-Vīrappa, who was the Paṭṭaṇa-Seṭṭi or the leading merchant of Bankapur. The *Keḷadi-Nripa-Vijayam* makes no mention of the pretender and does not give any indication of how Channabasappa came by his end. Nor does it furnish any details of the war that led to the final defeat and death of Rāṇi Vīrammāji. Linganṇa-Kavi, the author of the work, stops rather abruptly his narrative, with the curt statement that Vīrammāji and Sōmaśēkhara ruled for five years and six months from *Īśvara, Śrāvaṇa ba.* 5 to *Chitrabhānu, Māgha śu.* 5 (1757-1763), when the kingdom (of Bednūr) ceased to exist. And with it, he adds, "here ends the kingdom of the Śivabhaktas" (*Ke. N. V.*, 223). It may, however, be inferred that these details are omitted by Linganṇa-Kavi for the obvious reason that they do not pertain to the object of his narrative, which was to chronicle the deeds of charity done by the kings of Keḷadi, who were pious devotees of Śiva.

Wilks' Version: According to Wilks, Basappa Nāyaka II left as his heir an adopted son named Channa-Basappa Nāyaka, about 17 years of age, under the guardianship of his widow Rāṇi Vīrammāji, until he should himself have attained sufficient experience. The Rāṇi—so this version runs—had formed a connection of shameless publicity with a person named Nimbaiya, evidently a subordinate of hers. The notoriety and public scandal of this attachment had drawn animadversions from the young Rāja (Channa-Basappa Nāyaka III), and the lovers had found it expedient, in 1757, to remove this rude observer by employing a *jeṭṭi* (a professional athlete) while shampooing him in his bath, to dislocate his neck and destroy him. In his place, they

selected an adopted infant to fill the throne. Thus passed some five years, when a pretender started in the land announcing himself as Channabasappa, saved by an artifice of the *jeṭṭi*, concealed in his house for five years and escaped in time to implore the protection of his neighbours in the recovery of his patrimony. This is the story told by Wilks.[8] It postulates two adoptions, one by Basappa Nāyaka II at or before his death, and another by Vīrammāji after his death, besides bringing into being a pretender, who seeks to palm himself off as the person adopted by Basappa Nāyaka II.

We have set out above the different versions relating to what befell Channabasava, the adopted son of Basappa Nāyaka II. The point for determination is whether he really survived the attempt on his life said to have been made by or at the instance of Rāṇi Vīrammāji, Queen of Bednūr. Whether Vīrammāji got rid of him herself or instigated some one else to get rid of him, need not detain us for any length of time, as it may be granted that in any event it would have been to her interest if he were put out of the way. Where versions relating to a historical event differ, as in the present case, a mere interpretation of sources may not help to solve the most important problem. It is necessary to compare the oldest preserved versions with their descriptions and to judge how far their character agrees or disagrees with the descriptions given in the later ones. Only then would we perceive the typical qualities of the writers and the circumstances under which the later developments came about. Such a confronting of versons, earlier and later, would help us to know the character of the versions developed by the

8. Wilks, *o.c.*, I. 502-503. Wilks does not quote his authority. But his version is probably based on what Badr-u-Zamān, whom he mentions later, should have narrated to him (*Ibid*, 509, f. n.). Wilks' version has been given above nearly in his own words.

different writers[9]. Applying this principle of interpretation, we see that the version appearing in the *Haidar-Nāmāh*, which is the earliest known, barring that of De La Tour, which is secondary in character and value, suggests that Channabasappa did not die as the result of the attempt made on him and was saved and made his way to the Chitaldrug Pāḷegār, who protected him safely until he got Haidar to take up his cause. The author of the *Haidar-Nāmāh*, however, does not seem to believe in the story of his having been saved. And for that very reason he calls the man introduced by the Chitaldrug Pāḷegār "that pretender who was known as the Gaibu Rāja." De La Tour's version represents Channabasava as meeting Haidar in person at Basavāpaṭṇa and requesting his aid against his adopted mother Vīrammāji, who had kept him out of his kingdom, though he was of age to assume charge of it. This makes a further departure which is not confirmed by any other version, especially the meeting of Haidar at Basavāpaṭṇa, while there is a total omission of the name of the Chitaldrug Pāḷegār, which several other versions mention in this connection. This version, therefore, seems farther away from the actual truth. Robson's version, though two years later in point of date, seems nearest the truth in certain particulars. It represents Channabasava as having been saved from the hands of the Rāṇi, even before any attempt was made on him and that by a friend of his adopted father. This makes the long story of the *jeṭṭi* being employed by the Rāṇi to do away with him nothing but an invention just like the other one that represents him as having been buried alive mistakenly as dead and as having later escaped from the grave with life to the Chitaldrug Pāḷegār, who later introduced him to Haidar.

9. See, on this point of methodology, J. Prusek in *Archiv Orientalia*, Vol. X, 3, December 1938.

It is possible that these latter versions, which we see in the full blown form in Wilks, were stories current from the earliest days, which, in due course, came to oust the true story, of which probably we have the simplest form in Robson. Seeing the inimical attitude of the Rāṇi, a friend of the father of Channabasava quietly managed to secure and send him away to the Chitaldrug Pāḷegār, who later made him a political catspaw in his own interests. This version would make Channabasava live until after he meets Haidar, in which case the inference would follow that though the story was current that he had died long back, he was actually alive and had come to claim his kingdom in company with Haidar, his restorer. This has the merit of reconciling all the versions which represent Channabasava as both escaping from the Rāṇi's clutches and meeting, after some years of hidden life, Haidar in his camp and asking for his aid against the Rāṇi. Kīrmāṇi's version, which, as might be expected, is graphic to a degree, is entirely in keeping with this view of the matter. It represents Channabasava not only as living but as a live individual visiting Haidar and as having a long conversation with him and promising "to gird his loins in the service of the Nawaub." But the *Keḷadi-Nripa-Vijayam* represents Channabasava as having died on July 8, 1757, and states that on this event occurring, Rāṇi Vīrammāji took in adoption her maternal uncle's son in his place and carried on the administration in his name. How to reconcile the death, so definitely mentioned, with the representation in the other sources that Channabasava either escaped from the Rāṇi's hands, or from the grave to which he had been consigned, or from the Jeṭṭi's murderous deed to the Chitaldrug Pāḷegār? It is quite possible that the Rāṇi believed that he had been done away with, agreeably to the stories made current at the time, and the author of the *Keḷadi-Nripa-Vijayam* believed in it and set

down the date of his alleged death, the day fixed being the one on which he was alleged to have died, while actually he had been saved from the alleged unfriendly clutches of the Rāṇi and sent away out of her sight by the friend of his adopted father, and from hiding later resurrected to wreak his vengeance on the Rāṇi with the aid of Haidar. From the point of view suggested above, it would follow that all the versions which represent Channabasava as living at the time of Haidar, contain a measure of truth in them; that the *Haidar-Nāmāh's* disbelief in the identity of the so-called pretender with Channabasava, the actual adoptee of Basappa Nāyaka II, was either a natural or an assumed one, more probably the former than the latter, though it suited Haidar's purposes very well; and that the statement made by the author of the *Keḷadi-Nripa-Vijayam* was one set down in the honest belief that Channabasava had died—as was possibly given out at the time—when he, with the aid of his father's friend, left the Rāṇi's protection.

(2) Tirunāḷ.

Tirunāḷ: a Tamil word, literally meaning *holy day*. From and after the memorable reign of Krishṇadēvarāya, the Vijayanagar King (1509-1530), Śrī-Vaishṇavism grew in strength throughout the Vijayanagar kingdom (see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. iii. 1908-24, 2009, 2097-2101, etc.). One result of this advance of Śrī-Vaishṇavism was the importation of Tamil words into Telugu, the home language of the kings, which also spread throughout the length and breadth of the Peninsula, including the Tamil and Kannaḍa Districts. Another result was that Tamil words came to be freely used in popular conversation, with the further consequence that they came into vogue even in the literature of the day. Thus, Allasāni Peddaṇārya, the court-poet of Krishṇarāya, uses this very word *Tirunāḷ* in a well-known verse in the introductory

portion of his famous poem *Manucharitramu*. The passage runs as follows: *simha bhūdhara Tirunāḷḷakum ḍigu sura prakarambulu* (I. 39). The word *Tirunāḷ* was likewise adopted into the Kannaḍa language, when describing the festival days connected with temples. See, for instance, reference to *Gajēndra-Tirunāḷ* (*ante*, I. 185-186) and *Nanjarāja-Tirunāḷ* (*ante*, p. 597 of this Vol.), etc. Even earlier incorporation of Tamil words has been traced. Thus, in *Kāśikhaṇḍam* 2 (180), the word *Unnamale* is used for *Apītakuchāmba*, and *Aṇṇāmale* for *Aruṇāchalam*; similarly the words *mannāse* and *ponnāse* in the same verse. In *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇam*, we have the word *Avisāli*, a Tamil word signifying "a woman who has gone wrong." In the *Āmukta-mālyada* of Krishṇarāya, we have many Tamil words freely used. The following examples may be quoted:—*Poraviḷamgāya* (II. 97); *Āḷuvāru* (II. 94); *Munnavāru* (V. 92); *Pentiruvadi* (IV. 30); *Tēdu* in the sense "to search," "to desire" or "to wish for"; *Pāṇyāramu* indicating "cakes"; *Oḍamē* (ornament); *Sāvi* (key); *Śāpāḍi* (having eaten); *Moramu* (the bamboo container in which sweepings are gathered for throwing out, generally used in households); and *Nanju* (poison), are other words found in the *Āmukta-mālyada* (see Vēdam Venkataraya Sastri's Edition, pp. 51-52, for a more detailed note on the subject). Similarly, the continued absorption of Tamil words from Śrī-Vaishṇava hagiology and religion into Kannaḍa literature and inscriptions has to be explained, such absorption being both natural and necessary from the point of view of Śrī-Vaishṇava religious practices taken over. We may conclude this short note by quoting a popular Telugu song of unknown date—referring to *Tirunāḷ*—which runs as follows: *sannabīyam dañchi dañchi | sanchi ninda pōsi pōsi | Kanchi Tirunāḷ chūḍa pōtē pōtē | sanchi pōyerā, Ō! Rāghhavā | sanchi pōyerā,*

Ō ! Rāghavā ||. This may be translated literally thus: Pound and pound the best rice; Fill and fill the sack; Witnessing the *Tirunāḷ* at Kanchi, the sacks are gone, Oh! Rāghava! The sacks are gone, Oh! Rāghava! (The reference to *Kanchi* here is to Conjeeveram, the famous Śrī-Vaishṇava temple, not far from Madras; *Rāghava* is the presiding deity at Tiruvaḷḷūr, the well-known Śrī-Vaishṇava temple, between Madras and Arkonam).

(3) On the Sovereignty of the Indian Powers in the 18th century.

If Mysore found in the Mahrattas a serious competitor to the sovereignty of the South of India in the 17th century (see *Ante* Vol. I. Appendix PP. 570-574), both these powers found themselves confronted in their objective by the Nizāmate of the Deccan on the one hand and the Nāzimate or Nawābship of Arcot on the other in the 18th century. During the period following the death of Aurangzīb and the succession of weaklings to the Mughal Empire (down to 1748), centrifugal tendencies began to manifest themselves. The sovereignty of the Central Government at Delhi was in a nebulous state. The suzerainty of the Imperial Mughal was more nominal than real and the component parts of the Empire, fighting for their existence, sought to establish their sovereignty, each in its own way. A loose term, the word sovereignty in the 18th century carried with it the right on the part of a superior power to demand a monetary consideration from a less powerful neighbour. This, as understood at the time, *was not literally tribute* paid regularly by a chief or potentate to an organised power, but a "levy", "contribution", "indemnity", exacted at the point of the sword, as is connoted by the terms *chauth, sardēshmukhi, pēshkāsh, khaṇḍaṇe*, etc., met with in contemporary literature.

The Nizām, the new-comer on the stage of the Deccan politics of the 18th century, was originally the Mughal *Subādār* of the Deccan and as such its virtual ruler. The Deccan was reckoned in Akbar's time one of the *subahs* of the Mughal Empire.[1] At the head of each *sabah* there was a *Subādār* or Governor, assisted by a *Dewan* (or Finance Minister) and a *Faujdār* (or head of the local militia). The *Subādār* had full civil and military control over the province and maintained a court modelled on that of the Mughal sovereign himself.[2] Each *subah* was subdivided into a number of *sarkārs*, each *sarkār* being split up into a number of *parganas*, and each *parganа* was made up of a number of villages, each with its own local government. When Aurangzīb died in 1707, Chinkillich Khān, better known as Asaf Jah, returned to his province of the Deccan, and became independent of Delhi about 1724. Nādir Shah invaded Delhi in 1739 and one result of it was that the office of *Subādār* of the Deccan became in every way hereditary.[3] Asaf Jah established himself at Hyderabad and from there was supposed to control the vast territory which extended

1. Under Akbar, the *subahs* were 15 in number; later the three *subahs* in the Deccan were added to them. Under Aurangzīb, the number of *subahs* were raised from three to six in the Deccan and from 15 to 18 in the north as the result of certain re-arrangements carried out in connection with the fixing of the territorial limits of the older provinces.
2. For a detailed account of the duties of these provincial officers, see V. A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Moghul*, 380 *et seq.*
3. It is said, indeed, that Nādir Shah in his treaty with Muhammad Shah made a stipulation that all the subādārships should be made hereditary in the families which possessed them at that time. It is suggested that he did this at the instance of Asaf Jah, who is said to have invited him to invade India in revenge for the "affront put on him by Muhammad Shah." It has also been suggested that this article was "doubtless a stroke of politics in the Persian conqueror to divide the forces of an Empire whose strength was sufficiently established in the army of 120,000 men assembled to oppose him; and which under an Emperor of another disposition, might revenge the insult sustained by him" (De La Tour, *o.c.*, 1-2). Dow's *Hindustan* gives many stories which were current about the causes of the invasion of Nādir Shah. According to them, Nādir Shah was invited to India by Asaf Jah and Sādat Khān. See Elphinstone, *o.c.*, 720, f.n. 32.

from the Gulf of Cambay to Bengal together with the peninsular courts from Cambay to the Gulf of Bengal. This area was reckoned a third part of the Mughal Empire and comprised many really independent kingdoms and states, which had neither been conquered by the Mughals nor over which they had ever even pretended to hold sway. These included nominally the territories occupied by the Mahrattas, who not only disputed Mughal sovereignty but were also allowed to levy *chauth* and *sardēshmukhi* by the Emperor Aurangzīb, a practice continued by Asaf Jah; the kingdom of Ikkēri, which made up the whole of the Kanara country; Cochin, Malabar and Travancore, into all which countries the Mughal army had never penetrated owing to the physical difficulties presented by them; Mysore, only the outer fringes of which had been so far touched in the wake of Bijāpur forces; and the extreme South of India beyond Trichinopoly, comprising the Madura and Tinnevelly countries, over which the assertion of authority had been so far found all but impossible. The so-called "subjection" to the Mughal power was thus entirely nominal for the most part. This did not, however, prevent pretensions to suzerainty on the part of the Nizām when the break-up of the Mughal Empire became general. Nor did it prevent his claim to nominate persons to the several *sarkārs* forming the *subahs*, though this right to nominate was originally subject to confirmation by the Mughal Emperor. The headship of these *sarkārs* was not hereditary and had always been made by the provincial *subādār* concerned. Included among these in the Deccan was the Nawābship of Arcot, to which both the Nizām and the successors of Muhammad Shah, the Mughal Emperor, asserted their right in later times. This was the basis on which the fight to the Karnātic between the rival Nawābs and their supporters came to be sustained from about 1740,

when Dōst Alī, the then Nawāb, was attacked and killed in an invasion of the Mahrattas. The Nawābship of Arcot, though not hereditary, had been in his family for some time. Added to it, he had a number of persons belonging to his family and holding under him near about Arcot the charge of small *sarkārs* such as Vellore, Wandiwash, etc. The Nawāb of Arcot also pretended to claim the overlordship of Tanjore, Madura and Tinnevelly and other places further south, which actually never recognised his claims.

It was in this state of affairs that two foreign nations (*i.e.*, the English and the French) sought to establish themselves in South India, pretending to help the local powers to settle their own differences while prejudicing the rights of third parties like Mysore. This was particularly so on the termination of the war in the Karnātic and the conclusion of the truce between the English and the French in 1753. A conference was held at Sadras on 3rd January 1754, when a dispute arose between the two European powers as to the origin and relative validity of the patents (*sanads*) of the respective Indian claimants, Nawāb Muhammad Alī and the Nizām Salābat Jang (whose cause they espoused), to the suzerainty of the Karnātic and the Deccan. The following passage from Orme on this topic, though long, is pertinent and speaks for itself :—

"The English deputies," writes Orme, "opened the conference by proposing as the basis of the negociation, that Mahomed Ally should be acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, with the same authority as had ever been possessed by any former Nabob; and that the king of Tanjore should be guaranteed in the peaceable possession of his kingdom. The French then produced their ideas of a basis, and the whole of their terms together: their basis implied the acknowledgment of Salabad Jing as the soubah of the Deccan, and the immediate release of

the French prisoners taken during the war: the English, in return for their acquiescence to these two articles, were to be exempted from the ground-rent of Madras, a small fine formerly paid to the Government of Arcot; they were to keep possession of the country of Ponomalee; and some establishment was to be made for Mahomed Ally after his difference with the Mysorean concerning Trichinopoly was conciliated. It was impossible to have made proposals more directly opposite; for by acknowledging Salabad Jing without restrictions, the French would become arbiters of the fate of the English in the Carnatic, as they would of the French, if Mahomed Ally was acknowledged; so that each side required of the other to give up everything before they had well begun to treat of anything. However the business did not stop, and the French deputies produced seven patents, which they called their authorities for interfering as they had done, in the affairs of the Mogul Government, and for making the present demands; two of these were patents from Murzafa Jing, one appointing Mr. Dupleix commander in all the countries from the river Kristna to the sea, the other, Chunda Saheb governor of the Carnatic; four were from Salabad Jing, two confirming the two foregoing, another giving the countries of Arcot and Trichinopoly to Mr. Dupleix after the death of Chunda Saheb; the other appointing Mortiz Ally of Vellore, lieutenant under Mr. Dupleix in these countries; the seventh and last piece, which the French called the most authentic, was a letter from the Great Mogul, confirming all that Salabad Jing had done in favour of Mr. Dupleix and his allies. The French deputies then asked what titles the English had to produce; who replied that they consisted of patents from Nazir Jing, Gazi-o-din Khan, and the Great Mogul, appointing Mahomed Ally Nabob of the Carnatic; here again was a

flat contradiction, and of such a nature as could not be adjusted without sending the deputies to Delhi. The French, notwithstanding, insisted that the titles should be examined; and being told that the Nabob's were at Trichinopoly, desired that they might be immediately sent for; nevertheless they in the meantime delivered copies of their own to be scrutinized by the English deputies. But Mr. Saunders, convinced that this examination would multiply discussions, without removing any of the suspicions and objections which prevailed with both sides on the validity of the adversary's titles, came close to the point, and ordered his deputies to propose that the English and French should be put in possession of lands of equal value in such different parts of the province as might prevent future disputes; that the commerce of the two Companies in the Carnatic should be established on equal terms of advantage; that security should be given to the Mysoreans for such a sum of money as upon an equitable adjustment of their account might appear to be due to them; that a pension should be assigned to Rajah Saheb, the son of Chunda Saheb, and that the French prisoners should be released; provided Mr. Dupleix would acknowledge Mahomed Ally Nabob of the Carnatic. These proposals left the French superior by the whole of their possessions to the northward, which were of much greater value than what the English would have been content to take, subject to an equality with them in the Carnatic; a moderation which would have been inconsistent with the continual success of the English arms, if the expences of the war had not already greatly hurt the commercial interests of the East India Company, restrained, by their charter, from enlarging their capital. The acknowledgment of Mahomed Ally appeared the only difficulty in Mr. Saunders' proposal; but even this might be removed by the English acknowledging Salabad Jing, on condition that he would

confirm Mahomed Ally in the Nabobship; and that the French would likewise agree to concur equally with the English in supporting this prince in his government. But Mr. Dupleix was so intoxicated by his connexions with Salabad Jing, and his notions of his own authority in the Carnatic, that he rejected Mr. Saunders' proposal with disdain. It was now no longer possible to mistake his views, or to doubt that he had any other intention than to leave the English in possession of a fortieth part of the territories dependent on Arcot, on condition that they would tamely suffer him to keep and govern all the rest with absolute sovereignty. Big with these ideas, he ordered his deputies to insist strenuously on the validity of his titles; and whilst they were explaining the various events which had led their nation to the acquisition of such important prerogatives, the English deputies discovered that the Mogul's letter to Mr. Dupleix wanted the usual signature, which is a seal engraved with his name and titles, and stamped with ink at the head of the patent. They likewise observed that the seal impressed on the wax which had secured the cover of the letter, appeared by the date to be thirty-three years old, and consequently belonged to a former emperor. These defects naturally gave them many suspicions; which were much confirmed, when, on desiring an explanation from the French deputies, they immediately recalled all their papers, giving for a reason, that they would not submit them to any farther examination before the Nabob's patents were produced. This in reality was no reason at all; they, however, consulted Mr. Dupleix on the objections made to the Mogul's letter, who replied that the piece he had delivered to them was only a duplicate, to which the writer in the secretary's office at Delhi might have thought it needless to affix the seal of signature, and that with the same negligence the first seal which came to hand might have

been taken up by him to seal the cover; but that the original brought by the Mogul's officer deputed from Delhi, had the seal of signature affixed to it, which was dated in the first year of the reign of the late emperor Hamed Schah (Muhammad Shah); and that the letter itself was dated in the fifth year of his reign, the same in which it was received. It now became necessary to examine the original, and to enquire whether it was the custom in the secretary's office at Delhi to pay so little attention to duplicates; but Mr. Saunders and the English deputies thought that what they had already seen and heard was a sufficient proof that the copy was a forgery, and concluded the same of the original, and the rest of the French papers; the French deputies nevertheless persisted to defend the authenticity of them; and lest the abrupt manner in which they had withdrawn them from farther examination should be interpreted as a proof that they themselves knew their pieces could not stand the test, they now gave another reason for this part of their conduct, alleging that they had recalled them only for fear copies should be taken in order to direct Mahomed Ally in making out those patents he had promised to produce. The blundering apology exposed their cause more than any remarks which their adversaries had hitherto made; for it was a tacit acknowledgment, that they themselves were convinced of the possibility of forging patents with so much dexterity that the artifice could not be detected. It might have been asked, by what means they arrived at this conviction; and the English deputies might have added, as the natural consequences of this principle laid down by their adversaries, that if Mahomed Ally could avail himself of such arts, Mr. Dupleix might have made use of them likewise: this argument, however, was not produced, either because it did not occur, because it would have exploded the pretentions arising from patents

on both sides: but this the English ought to have wished, since it would have reduced the conference to a plan of equality, which would give them a right to demand an equal share of the countries to the northward, or to insist that the French should relinquish them; after which the English might have consented to recede from this demand, on condition that Mr. Dupleix should acknowledge Mahomed Ally in the Carnatic; but arguments have very little influence in treaties, and both sides had already made use of such sharp invectives on the conduct of their adversaries during the war, that it was manifest neither had any hopes of bringing about a reconciliation. Thus the conference broke up on the eleventh day after it began, leaving both sides more exasperated than ever." [4]

This apart, the English, as subsequent events showed (*vide* Vol. III of this work), knew from the beginning the fundamental weakness of the position of Nawāb Muhammad Alī in his claims to the Nawābship of Arcot and the sovereignty—alleged or real—of the South. In espousing his cause, they came into conflict with

4. Orme, *Indostan*, I. 337-341. Wilks gives a telling summary of the above episode thus: "In January 1754, the deputies appointed by both parties met at the intermediate and neutral Dutch settlement of Sadras. The discussions commenced with unfolding their mutual projects: the English contending for the acknowledgment of Mahommed Ali as Nabob of Arcot, and the guarantee of the Raja of Tanjore; and the French, for the acknowledgment of Salabat Jung as Soubadar of the Deckan, and the rejection of Mohammed Ali as Nabob of Arcot. It was plain from the commencement, that the views of the parties could never be brought to coincide; but they began most gravely to discuss the legal titles of their several Soubadars and Nabobs on which these respective projects were founded, and to produce the authenticated instruments of investiture; all of them supported, as usual, by the mandates of the Mogul. Public discussion could scarcely have assumed more ludicrous shapes than arose from the scrutiny of seals, official forms, signatures and dates, and reciprocal accusations of forgery; and the conferences broke up in eleven days from their commencement, after the expenditure of much paper, infinite rancour, and very distinguished ingenuity on both sides (Wilks, o. c. I. 376).

Mysore, whom, as we have seen, the Nawāb had grossly wronged by the violation of his solemnly contracted treaty obligations in regard to the cession of Trichinopoly. By gradually superseding the Nawāb and establishing themselves as a political power in South India in the latter half of the 18th century, and by a system of diplomatic relations with the other Indian powers of the time (*i.e.*, the Nizām and the Mahrattas), the English not only came in the way of the legitimate aspirations of Mysore in the south (namely, the acquisition of Trichinopoly) but also eventually succeeded, in the closing years of the century, in overthrowing the formidable power of that kingdom, which had, in the wake of the Vijayanagar Empire, sought to extend its sway over a greater part of South India, from the Krishṇa in the north as far as Rāmēśvaram in the far south. That is the key-note of South Indian History of the 18th century, the ultimate success of a foreign power slowly and steadily profiting by the differences between the Indian powers of the time.